



Sincerely yours,
Ted Kaczynski

THE UNABOMBER LETTERS

A YAHOO NEWS SPECIAL REPORT

Ted Kaczynski on 9/11, politics and policy

From his jail cell, Kaczynski has kept a close watch on current events, offering his reaction to 9/11, the motivation of Osama bin Laden and other Islamic extremists, the Iraq war, presidential politics and even so-called Tiger Moms.

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The selection was curated by Yahoo News

YAHOO!

NEWS

...ingeries ...mes.
If Bill Clinton should be convicted and imprisoned, I would guess that — contrary to what you suggested — they will not put him here. Instead, they will build a special prison just for him. It will be a more-or-less exact replica of a luxury hotel, complete with golf course, swimming pool, etc. ... and, of course, girlfriends.

Theodore John Kaczynski
04475-046
U.S. Penitentiary Max
P.O. Box 8500
Florence CO 81226-8500
August 26, 2000

D

Dear

I apologize for taking so long to reply to your letter of June 20, but I've been very busy with legal work related to my appeal.

To begin with, I am somewhat irritated by your apparent assumption that I am the Unabomber. You must be aware that I am legally challenging the validity of my conviction. Do you imagine I would be doing so if I were really the Unabomber? Use your common sense.

I also found it a little irritating that you wrote that you thought it deplorable that the Unabomber killed people. It's the same refrain that I've heard from I don't know how many people who have written to me: They like the ideas but they deplore the violence. This may be a reasonable point of view, but I just get tired of hearing it over and over.

Naturally, I too think that killing people is deplorable. That's why I believe that Colin Powell and all the other generals who organized the U.S. military actions of recent years should be in prison, along with a number

of other well-respected persons. I think we all should have learned a lesson about violence from the carnage of World War II. Not only soldiers, but many thousands of civilians, including children, were killed in that war. Clearly our soldiers should have left their guns at home and stopped the Nazi advance by lying down in front of the German tanks.

I suppose I should apologize for my irritation and sarcasm. But the majority of the people who have written to me since my arrest — including those whose letters ^{have} at first seemed intelligent and plausible — have turned out to be fools, neurotics, or, worse, dishonest individuals who have wanted to exploit my case for their own advantage.* Consequently, at this point, I have no reason to assume that you are rational and honest.

Of course, it is quite possible that you may be rational and honest — otherwise I wouldn't take the trouble to write you this letter. However, I'll have to say that I am not particularly enthusiastic about your project.

* See Mc Sweeney's (magazine, 394 A Ninth Street, Brooklyn NY 11215), Issue No. 3, Mid to Late Summer, 1999, pages 67-119. This article is not strictly accurate, but it will give you an idea of the kind of thing I've encountered.

[TSK to

7/21/01]

3.

even come to agree with me that, apart from modest reforms, the only thing we can hope to do about the technology problem is wreck the whole system and suffer the consequences.

Third, you seem to assume that if ~~a~~ a person uses some technology, he must consider that technology to be good. You might as well say that because the U.S. made war against Hitler in 1941-45, the U.S. must have considered war to be good. If I didn't use any modern technology, I wouldn't even be able to send you, this letter, since it will presumably be carried by airplane. I would be completely isolated and therefore unable to fight technology; just as the U.S. would have been powerless to fight the warlike Hitler if it had refused to make war itself.

Sincerely yours,

Ted Kaczynski

TED KACZYNSKI

to

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V ST.

October 31, 2000

4/42

Dear [REDACTED]

For the first couple of years after I was put in this prison, I spent so much time answering letters that I hardly had time to do any writing of my own. Consequently, I am now trying to keep my correspondence to a minimum, and for that reason I hadn't been planning to answer your letter of 2/15/00 and 6/27/00. However, I reread your letter recently, and because the points you raised were so interesting I'm going to give in to the temptation of answering a couple of them.

You wrote: "Did Hitler believe that what he was doing was good, or was he just a cynical man (evil that is)?"

I would guess that Hitler was cynical, in that he knew his motives were spite, lust for power, and self-glorification. Albert Speer, Hitler's Minister of Armaments, stated in his memoirs that Hitler scoffed at the racial theories of Heinrich Himmler, which would seem to mean that Hitler believed only partly, if at all, in the theories that supposedly justified the concentration camps and gas chambers. Himmler makes a more interesting

example than Hitler does, because Himmler — according to Speer — fully believed in the theories of Nordic racial superiority, and in the necessity of eliminating "undesirable" races. But I don't think Himmler should be absolved on the ground that he was a well-intentioned person who was misled by a mistaken belief.

It is possible to distinguish between two kinds of error, which we can call "neutral" error and "motivated" error, respectively. By a "motivated" error I mean an incorrect opinion that one holds because one wants to believe in it, in contrast to a "neutral" error, into which one falls not because one wants to believe it but only, as it were, accidentally — as by making a mistake in a mathematical calculation, through receiving incorrect information, or by making a simple error of judgment. It seems obvious that Himmler's error must have been a motivated one. It hardly seems likely that he adopted his racial theories as a result of a mere accidental mistake or through having been misinformed. He must have believed in those theories at least in part because he wanted to believe in them, because it satisfied his psychological needs to believe in them. Thus, I don't consider that his belief in the theories absolves him from responsibility for his actions.

I would apply the same reasoning to the scientists, engineers, and corporate executives who

are creating the ghastly world of the future. No doubt most of them believe that what they are doing is good for people and for the world. But they believe this only because they want to believe it. They are highly intelligent people, and if they were honest with themselves they would surely realize, at the least, that modern technology is a very dangerous enterprise and that powerful arguments against it can be made. Thus, their belief in technology is not a mere mistake on their part — it is a choice that they make. Hence their belief in no way absolves them of responsibility for their actions.

I consider these people to be criminals of the worst possible kind — worse than Hitler or Stalin. Hitler and Stalin killed millions, but mass killings — by humans, by famine, by epidemics — have occurred throughout history, yet the human race and certain fundamental human values have survived. More important, life on Earth — the biosphere — the beautiful and (hitherto) immortal web of life created through hundreds of millions of years of evolution — has survived. But if the horrible enterprise of the Technologists is allowed to continue indefinitely, it will either eliminate the human race and the web of life, or it will transform them beyond recognition. Human values, as we have known them in the past, will die.

You also wrote: "... mostly all people would say ... that [Hitler] was evil. But wouldn't it be the other way around had Hitler won the war? History and morality are the winner's version." That is a significant observation. I've read that Winston Churchill after the war said to one of his colleagues, in reference to the Nuremberg trials, "We must be very careful not to lose the next war." Your point is also illustrated by the struggle between state socialism (communism) and "democratic" capitalism. For a long time it appeared that socialism was the wave of the future. The West appeared to be on the defensive. During that period, socialism was highly popular among intellectuals and was aspired to throughout the Third World. But it turned out that "democratic" capitalism was, in the long run, more efficient technologically and economically than socialism was. When it became apparent that the West was winning, the Third World lost its interest in socialism and turned toward democracy and the free-market economy. (That is, the Third World began to aspire to democracy, though in practice dictators have tended to take control.) This of course is seen in moral terms: The Third World has chosen — or anyway aspired to — democracy and the free market because these represent the humane

and enlightened road, in contrast to the "totalitarianism" of state socialism. But in reality the middle and upper classes of the Third World chose the Western way largely because they wanted to be on the winning side. If the communists had proved stronger and more successful than the West, the Third World would have retained its affection for socialism, and the victory of socialism would have been seen in moral terms: Socialism would have represented the humane, enlightened way.

Besides the fact that people like to be on the winning side, there is another reason why today (perhaps more than in the past?) morality is the winner's version. In the modern world, propaganda (and I use the word in a broad sense) is the most important determinant of public values. The winning side controls the mass media and the educational system, hence can systematically inculcate people with its own values. Notice how quickly predominating public values have changed in Germany, Japan, and Russia in response to repeated changes of regime with the consequent changes of propaganda. (E.g., in Russia, from tsarist values to socialist values to westernized values.)

But I don't take a position of complete moral relativism. I think there are certain general principles of human decency that probably

have some degree of universality. I wrote an article about this titled "Morality and Revolution", which appeared a few months ago in the British periodical Green Anarchist.

You wrote, "I don't have much ~~any~~ contact with antitech people abroad, but I'd be glad to know of any groups or books to help me learn more." I am enclosing a clipping from the Earth First! Journal that gives addresses of groups in various countries. I imagine most of these groups will be able to read letters written in English.

I haven't answered all of the questions that you asked in your letter, but, as I indicated earlier, I have to cut down on my correspondence if I want to have time for any writing of my own.

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

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Question 7. I've never had anything but contempt for the so-called "60's kids," the radicals of the Vietnam-War era. (The Black Panthers and other black activists are possible exceptions, since black people had then, and still have today, more genuine grievances [on the score of discrimination than anyone else does.] I was a supporter of the Vietnam War. I've changed my mind about that, but not for the reasons you might expect.

I knew all along that our (political and military leaders were fighting the war for despicable reasons — for their own political advantage and for the so-called "national interest." I supported the war because I thought it was necessary to stop the spread of communism, which I believed was even more dangerous to freedom, and even more committed to technology, than the system we have in this country is.

I've changed my mind about the war because I've concluded that I vastly overestimated the danger of communism. I overestimated its danger partly as a result of my own naivety and partly because I was influenced by media

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propaganda. (At the time, I was under the mistaken impression that most journalists were reasonably honest and conscientious.)

As it turned out, communism broke down because of its own inefficiency; hence no war was needed to prevent its spread. Despite its ideological commitment to technology, communism showed itself to be less effective than capitalism in bringing about technological progress. Finally — again because of its own inefficiency — communism was far less successful than it would have liked to be in strangling individual freedom.

Thirty years ago I accepted the image of communist countries that the media projected. I believed that they were tightly-regulated societies in which virtually the individual's every move was supervised by the Party or the State. Undoubtedly, this was the way the communist leaders would have liked to run their countries. But it now seems that because of corruption and inefficiency in communist systems the average man in those countries had a great deal more wiggle-room than was commonly assumed in the West. Very instructive is Robert W. Thurston's study, Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1934-1941 (Yale University Press, 1996).

TED KACZYNSKI
to

597

October 3, 2001

Dear

Thanks for your letter of September 15. Yes, I did enjoy the book that you sent, and found it very interesting. I don't know why the book was slow to arrive. Our mail here is often slow. It's partly the fault of the post office, but I think there are also some delays in the prison due to the fact that incoming & outgoing mail has to be inspected by officers.

To answer your other questions, I went to college for two reasons: (1) my parents wanted me to, and (2) at the time, I didn't know what else to do with myself. I don't watch TV, but I did listen on the radio to the coverage of the destruction of the World Trade Center. No, I did not see it coming — it took me by surprise too. My views on this event are too complicated to be stated in this letter, but I expect to write something about it after I'm done with the petition to the Supreme Court that I'm working on right now.

U.K.
3.10.01

10/3/01 in U.S. notation

Dear Mr Kaczynski,

It is with some trepidation that I embark on this letter. I don't know how you feel about word-processed letters. On the other hand if I were to write in my own fair handwriting you would not be able to read it at all. This way you have a choice.

I am writing because I was struck by your letter to Louis Michel which I read in his book on MacVeigh. I was actually reading this while doing research at the University of Chicago last month and actually read your letter on the very day of the events of 11th September. My interest was because of what you said about convergence between right and left in certain respects. Also because for some reason I found MacVeigh to be a sympathetic figure while I would have supposed his politics and mine were as different as night and day.

I have always considered myself to be on the "left". I came of age with a vengeance in the sixties. I was born in 1944. In the early seventies I lived in Cuba and after coming back to England I worked for twenty years with Irish Republicans running a support group for IRA prisoners. I have been in every top security jail in Britain and Ireland (as a visitor!) but have no idea what conditions are like where you are - or very little. I have somehow managed to go on earning a living as a university professor and I teach US literature and research in Islamic studies.

In late middle age I am reluctant to let go of my ideals but now have real doubts about my rather gung-ho attitude to the loss of human life which thirty years ago seemed to me a sine qua non of progress - and all this before 11 September. My email is cluttered with memos from Chomsky, Said, Sontag et al pointing out the injustice of bemoaning those deaths when deaths of innocents occur every day in hundreds of thousand through the depredations of imperialism etc etc etc. I have been in Palestine and know what Israeli colonialism looks like. I have Iraqi friends.... And yet, and yet ... those deaths in New York, if I am honest, have more deeply affected me. Does that make me a racist? Am I growing conservative? Or is it right to feel affected by such a deeply deliberate and cruel act?

There is more of course. There always is. But you may not choose to pick up the conversation. If you do, I shall write back.

Best wishes,

TED KACZYNSKI
to

November 1, 2001

U.K.

Dear Professor

Thanks for your letter (even though it bears the inauspicious date of October 3 — my brother's birthday). I don't object to word-processed letters.

I'm not sure what you're looking for from me, since you don't ask any specific questions or raise any specific points that you want me to address. But since you're an expert in Islamic studies, I do have some fairly specific points that I'd like you to address.

Like a lot of people, I've been wondering (and not only since Sept. 11) about the significance of militant Islam, and in particular about the motivations of the militants. Some of the motivating factors involved are obvious: resistance to modernization, religious fanaticism, the leaders' drive for power, and "nationalism." * But the relative importance of the various factors, and their exact nature, has been very unclear to me.

The first thing I read that seemed to throw

* I use the word "nationalism", in quotes, because the phenomenon is similar to nationalism, but differs from it in that it involves identification not with a nation but with a religion.

any real light on the subject was an article in Time Magazine, October 15, 2001, pages 70-71, titled "Osama's Endgame." This article seems to show that Osama Bin Laden's motives (whatever he may tell himself about them) are not primarily religious piety, or resistance to modernity, but rather "nationalism and the drive for power. If the article can be believed, Bin Laden wants nuclear weapons and economic strength for the Islamic world so that it can become a "great power." In other words Bin Laden, behind a veneer of piety, just wants to play the same power-game that states have played almost since the beginning of civilization. It's a game that threatens to become unprecedentedly disastrous, in several respects, because states now have at their disposal the increasingly horrible tools of modern technology.

But I don't know how seriously to take the Time article, because I've learned through my own experience that the news media are sloppy in their research and do not hesitate to distort the truth.

So my first question is: Do you think the article is roughly accurate in its portrayal of Bin Laden's motives?

Assuming that the article is more-or-less accurate as to Bin Laden personally, to what extent can he be taken as representative of militant Islam as a whole? I don't doubt that there are a great many militant Muslims for whom

religious belief is more important than "nationalism" and the drive for worldly power, but I strongly suspect that those for whom worldly power is most important will tend to dominate the movement. Do you agree, or not?

I also wonder about the strength and nature of the resistance to modernity. Assuming that the article mentioned above is correct, it seems clear that Bin Laden and his associates do not reject modern technology and industrialization — since the Islamic world could hardly become a great power without them. Bin Laden et al resist only the social changes that have accompanied modernization, e.g., collapse of traditional values, irreligion, and unbridled hedonism. I think there is significant resistance to modern technology in the Islamic world,^{*} but my guess is that the forces of what I've called "nationalism" will easily prevail over any resistance to modern technology.

Do you agree with the foregoing paragraph, or not?

^{*} It is interesting that I've received a couple of postcards, unsigned but apparently from the same person, bearing postage stamps of the United Arab Emirates and the words, "From Dubai." No other message; but I assume the sender of the cards knew what I stand for and meant to express his support.

Assuming I am right in thinking that the dominant goal of militant Islam (or at least of its most important leaders) is to create an Islamic "great power," and one that is free of the social changes that have accompanied modernization elsewhere ~~then~~ it seems to me that its project is doomed to fail. Creation of a great power would require industrialization; and it would appear that successful, efficient industrialization is incompatible with the existing culture of the Middle East. An attempt to industrialize that region either will fail or will lead to the same kinds of social changes that have accompanied industrialization elsewhere.

Would you comment on the foregoing paragraph?

I would also guess that, even if the leaders were to drop all resistance to modernizing social changes, creation of a fully-developed and efficient industrial economy in the Middle East ^{still} would be exceedingly slow and difficult, because the culture isn't amenable to it and won't change easily. In particular, there is not enough social discipline there — or not enough social discipline of the right kind. Do you agree or disagree?

Even though a fully-developed industrial economy in the Middle East seems unlikely for the foreseeable future, I can well imagine a Middle-Eastern state that as a whole is inefficient and backward, but in which a relatively small, elite

minority creates (on a modest scale) an advanced industrial and technological structure within the more backward whole. Maybe some of the Middle Eastern ~~the~~ states already are approaching this condition? What do you think about this?

The possible creation of advanced industrial and technological structures in the Middle East worries me exceedingly. I think that what the West is doing with modern technology is criminally reckless. But I also think that the West shows more self-restraint in the use of its (technological and other) power than most other cultures do. In other words, I think most other cultures that to some degree have access to modern technology use it even more recklessly than the West does. (Did you ever ask yourself what some of these Third-World countries are doing with their nuclear waste?) And it seems to me that there is more recklessness in the Middle East than elsewhere. The danger lies not only in the reckless use of intentionally destructive technologies such as that of nuclear weapons, but also in supposedly benign applications of technologies (e.g., genetic engineering) that may have unanticipated, disastrous consequences. What do you think? Am I right in believing that there is a certain kind of recklessness in Middle-Eastern cultures?

Twenty-odd years ago I worked in a small factory with a man from Pakistan. He was very

intelligent, an excellent worker, and I liked him very well. But by way of a joke he used to point a knife at me — a box-cutter knife, as it happened — and say, "I weel keel you!" He apparently did not realize that that kind of humor was ~~no~~ not acceptable in the West.

This is only an anecdote, but it illustrates what I think other evidence seems to support — that in Middle Eastern cultures there is far less inhibition about violence, killing, and destructiveness generally than there is in the West. Am I right about this?

* * *

Now let me return to your letter. Your fourth paragraph is obscure to me. Do you mean that you formerly opposed loss of human life but are now more ready to accept it? Or vice versa? You indicate that the deaths at the World Trade Center have affected you more deeply than violent deaths elsewhere in the world. Is this because you see the W.T.C. people as more like yourself, so that you can identify more closely with them? You ask whether that makes you a racist. Whether you call yourself a racist is up to you, but personally I think the leftists' use of the word racist is absurd. If the term is to be applied as broadly as the leftists apply it, then probably 99.9% of people throughout the world's history have been racists.

Also, I'm highly skeptical of the claim that "deaths of innocents occur every day in hundreds of thousand [sic] through the depredations of imperialism." Where I've had opportunity to compare information from leftists with information from sources that I have good reason to believe are reliable, I've found the leftists' information to be shamelessly slanted. (Same true of information from the right.) And, assuming that that statistic ("hundreds of thousands of deaths") were correct, how would your leftist friends balance those deaths against the lives saved by Western medicines and medical technology, Western agricultural technology, etc.? (Not that I think that's good. If I could, I would eliminate all advanced technology everywhere, including medical and agricultural technology.)

And why would you run a support group for I.R.A. prisoners? I certainly can't claim to be well-informed about Northern Ireland, but from the little I know it seems to me that what is going on there is essentially just a blood-feud between the Catholics and the Protestants, and I see no reason why any outsider should think that one side was better than the other.

Sincerely yours,

Ted Kaczynski

The World Trade Center and the conflict between the West and the Islamic world? I don't think it is only an economic and political matter, but I'm not really qualified to comment on this subject. In this connection I've just read today a very interesting article by the distinguished historian Bernard Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam," in The New Yorker magazine, November 19, 2001, pages 50-63. If you would like to read this article but can't obtain it in Italy, let me know, and I will try to send you a copy.

4 December 2001

Dear Mr Kaczynski,

Thank you for your letter of 1 November. I have taken some time to reply for a variety of reasons, partly to do with work, but also partly because I seemed to be constantly being overtaken by events as it were, and felt unable to respond in a balanced ways to your many queries about Islam.

Your take on Islam seems to me accurate in many respects but I am a bit bemused to find that you thought that Bin Laden might not be politically motivated - if you see what I mean. I have read a series of articles in *Time* over the past few weeks. Like you I should be inclined to think what was behind such pieces, however they seem fair enough as far as they go. Prior to 11th September I would have made a distinction between Islamism and fundamentalism. I should have said that the former represented an attempt to create a version of Islam for the modern world; that it was highly political in the sense of being an ideology which bound its adherents together in a belief system which was subject to revision by a leadership who were open to influences from outside. Fundamentalism I should have defined as a closed system of belief which rejected the modern; whose adherents were bound together by ritual and repetition and which rejected all outside influences in favour of an atavism based on a mythologies^{ed} version of the past. Of course, both of these versions can be seen to be "political" in a larger sense and may have collaborated at some points - Iran is the obvious example. I think Bin Laden's lien on the Taliban has mixed my categories.

Before I pursue this train of thought, just let me say that really what we are talking about here has nothing to do with piety, which is an inward and indiscernible dialogue between the individual and their concept of the divine or transcendent and which can not be assessed by anyone else. Bin Laden may appear pious: we have no way of knowing. However, his representation of himself as pious is highly political - if you see what I mean.

On one level, what has happened is that and extremely wealthy Saudi businessman has bought himself a country - apparently you don't get much of a country for \$10m. This is a purely capitalist transaction. This purchase has been dressed up in the garb of shared religious belief. To be facetious for a moment, one might have expected that the US would have applauded this evidence of the spirit of free enterprise. Yes, I think someone (not necessarily BL) thinks that Islam can be a player in a world power game -I'm guessing the Saudis because of their penetration into Central Asia and Africa. They backed the Taliban and the mullahs who give BL spiritual credibility. I think BL himself is not important. Let's look at the bigger picture: as I write it seems as though the Israelis will declare war on Palestine. This is right up the Saudis street: it will swing all Muslims in the world behind the Saudi backed Hamas. Looking at Saudi Arabia (SA) we can see a perfect example of what you call the resistance to social change accompanied by the use of modern technology. In this scenario Afghanistan is irrelevant except in so far as it allows the US to demonstrate its

From

12/4/01

military superiority and drum up orders e.g. today the Israelis have been showing how good the F16s are.

There is a difference between militant Islam and military Islam. I think that there are many that would believe that Islam could be a great power without industrialisation. They do not see modern technology as being industrial- believing that with sufficient wealth they can purchase what they need and even produce it themselves in a way, which obviates social upheaval. Yes they want Islam to be a world player, but this "Islam" is an external signifier, it has nothing to do with religious belief but is a code for submission to certain authorities different from those of the west - but the power game is the same. The states with small elites such as you describe existed in Iraq before the Gulf War, exist in Iran, Morocco and most of the Gulf States. They are built upon "traditional" societies, which are corrupt, but they "work" because of oil wealth, oppression and family/tribal connections.

I don't agree that cultures possess essential characteristics, ^I think what you call recklessness can be attributed to the corruption and power structures but also to resentment on the part of those who feel they belong to the "have nots" while being told what to do by the "haves". I think disasters could well occur in these countries (and Israel, what are they doing to safeguard their "non-existent" atomic program?) But I don't think it's inevitable or part of some innate quality. I think its because people in the Middle East (where I have travelled quite a lot) are intelligent and informed and that they know, e.g., that "their" oil funds the life style they see in American films and TV and they are reasonably angry about it when they look at their crappy governments kept in power by western bought oil or whatever riches their countries possess.

I don't agree with your remark about violence in the Middle East - and find it a bit odd coming from a citizen of the US where recourse to guns seems to be a national affliction.

I think you are probably right about the use of the term racist. I can't remember exactly what I said but I think I was trying to pick up on something that you said in your letter about McVeigh which was in the Michel book. I agree about the deaths and also the lives saved by technology. Having said that, I suppose I have a kind of rage that the image of the plane flying into the building has embedded itself in my memory in a way I can't control. Of course what is happening now on the ground in Afghanistan is invisible. But this is another story.

As for Ireland, certainly when I got involved what was going on was a Civil Rights movement similar to that in the US. An attempt by Catholics to secure the right to self-determination. I could talk at some length about this because I think what has happened is that several different struggles or wars were waged one behind the other. It's too soon to say which one has won out. My purpose was to help those imprisoned for their political beliefs and in the course of my doing that, they became my friends.

I hope I have been able to give a partial response to some of your questions

Sincerely,

From

12/4/01

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I hope I have been able to give a partial response to some of your questions

Sincerely,

TED KACZYNSKI
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December 8, 2001

Dear

Thanks for your letter postmarked November 30. I very much appreciate the trouble you've gone through in trying to find books for me. However, if the books I mentioned are not readily available, don't worry about it. I could use some books in Spanish so that I can keep in practice with that language, but if there are any good secondhand-book stores in your area you might be able to get some Spanish-language books cheap. I actually prefer old, beat-up books of the kind that you could get at a minimal price. Most any books of history or biography would interest me.

I finished my petition for writ of certiorari and sent it to the Supreme Court on October 30. There is only a slim chance that the Supreme Court will agree to review my case, but if they did agree to review it I might have a good chance of winning.

Here at the prison only one thing has changed as a result of the war-and-terrorism situation. A new system for delivering legal mail to inmates has been set up, and I think it has something to do with the anthrax scare. Mail from lawyers is no longer delivered to our cells. Instead, we are escorted to the mailroom to pick up our legal mail there.

You invited me to comment on recent events. I don't know enough about the Middle East to be able to comment in detail, but provisionally I would say that what is going on now is just the latest phase of the brutal struggle for power between rival states and rival cultures that has been going on almost since the beginning of civilization. The difference is that, today, modern technology makes the struggle far more destructive and dangerous than it ever was before.

As always, politicians and propagandists on both sides use the existence of an external enemy to distract attention from problems at home. When people are frightened by a threat coming from outside their own country, they tend to rally behind their leaders and forget their grievances, and the politicians and propagandists exploit this phenomenon. In our country, the terrorist threat is being used as an excuse to develop and apply surveillance and security technologies that hasten the erosion of our privacy.

Osama Bin Laden has been portrayed as an opponent of modernity. If he were simply that, I might be inclined to support him, but my guess is that his motive is less an opposition to modernity than a desire to create

an Islamic "great power" that would be able to compete on equal terms with the other great powers of the world. If that is true, then he is just another ruthless and power-hungry politician, and I have no use for him.

Now, would you like to tell me a little bit about yourself? Did you write to me because you were concerned about the technology problem? Or for some other reason?

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

P.S. I am enclosing a holiday card for you. — TJK

TED KACZYNSKI
to
PROF.

January 14, 2002

Dear Professor

Thanks for your letter of December 4. You don't need to be concerned about the fact that it took you some time to reply to my letter of November 1. I often take much longer than that to answer letters.

The information in paragraphs 2 through 5 of your letter I find very interesting. But obviously there is a limit to the amount of information that it would be practical for you to give me in one letter, or even in several, so I wonder whether you would like to recommend one or two books that would give me a good general picture of the earlier and also especially the recent history of the Islamic World. It's a subject of which I have to admit I'm ignorant. Some years ago I read Bernard Lewis's The Arabs in History, but apart from that nearly everything I know about the Islamic World consists of media information and what I've picked up incidentally in reading the history of countries adjacent to the Islamic World, e.g., Spain and Russia. I do have somewhat of an excuse for my ignorance. During the twenty-five years I lived in the mountains my access to books was limited.

Most of what I read in the social sciences came from a used-book store in the town of Helena, where I found plenty of books on European, North American, and Latin American history, but very few on the history of other parts of the world. Since my arrest my access to books has been still more restricted. There are people who are willing to get books for me, but of course there is a limit to the extent to which I can impose on their generosity.

In answer to the sixth paragraph of your letter I'll withdraw my suggestion of recklessness in Middle Eastern cultures. Instead I'll simply say that nuclear weapons in the hands of people who are willing to carry out suicide attacks would make me a good deal more uncomfortable than do nuclear weapons in the hands of Western politicians, who have a well-developed instinct of self-preservation. Of course, it's possible that Middle Eastern leaders are as concerned with self-preservation as Western ones are, and merely use the "martyrs" as convenient tools. Would you care to comment?

Also, in your sixth paragraph you wrote, "I don't agree that cultures possess essential characteristics." It would be a waste of time to quibble about what an "essential characteristic" is, but it seems obvious that cultures do have traits that often last for centuries, even in the face of persistent

efforts to change those traits. Latin America provides a good example. Simón Bolívar predicted in 1830 that South America would prove "ungovernable" and would pass into the hands of "petty tyrants."¹ The succeeding 170 years have proven how well Bolívar understood Latin American culture. Only now is "democracy" (in the modern sense of the word) beginning — maybe — to make real progress in parts of Latin America, and I think it is doing so only because Latin American culture is slowly being absorbed into North American culture. When I was in the Sacramento County Jail my lawyers' assistants used to get me copies of the Mexican newspaper La Jornada, and, assuming that La Jornada could be taken as representative of the culture of the middle classes in Mexico, I was impressed at the extent to which those classes had become (North-) Americanized.

This brings me to certain opinions of Bernard Lewis's. In an article in The New Yorker, November 19, 2001, pages 50-63, he wrote (page 63): "There are others [in the Middle East] for whom America offers ... the

1. Letter to General Juan José Flores, November 9, 1830. In Simón Bolívar: Escritos políticos, edited by Graciela Soriano, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1975. Page 169.

TJK to

, 1/14/02

promise of human rights, of free institutions, and (4. of a responsible and elected government. There are ... movements that have undertaken the complex task of introducing such institutions in their own countries. ... We could do much to help them ... [T]here are people who share our values, sympathize with us, and would like to share our way of life. They understand freedom, and want to enjoy it at home." In an article in The Atlantic Monthly, January 2002, pages 43-45, Lewis wrote (page 45): "[I]f [Middle Easterners] can abandon grievance and victimhood, settle their differences, and join their talents, energies, and resources in a common creative endeavor, they can once again make the Middle East, in modern times as it was in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, a major center of civilization. For the time being, the choice is theirs."

Leaving aside his identification of modern institutions with "freedom," which in my opinion is a bad joke, it seems to me that Lewis's view that Middle Easterners could create a modern "democratic" society simply by making that choice is incredibly naive. All of modern history shows how difficult it is to establish "democracy" in a country where that system has not grown up gradually and spontaneously. Even in Europe attempts to introduce democracy failed repeatedly, and eventually succeeded only insofar as the countries in question became assimilated to

The type of political culture in the development of which Britain led the way. In other parts of the world attempts to introduce democracy have met even greater difficulties. Again and again such attempts have failed or have produced, at best, very rickety excuses for democracy. Japan and maybe India are exceptions. I don't know much about India, but in Japan it seems clear that democracy succeeded only because the Japanese already possessed the type of social discipline that was necessary for that form of government to work.

I don't see that type of social discipline in the Middle East. Lewis mentions Turkey as an example of a democratic Middle Eastern state, but, for one thing, one might have to stretch a point to call Turkey democratic, and, for another, I would conjecture that Turkey is culturally closer to the West than most of the rest of the Middle East is.

One doesn't need to subscribe to any theory of "essential characteristics" of cultures to see on purely empirical grounds that the kind of social discipline necessary for a fully modern and democratic system is acquired only very slowly, and usually through gradual assimilation to the culture of the already modernized part of the world.

Please don't interpret these remarks as a criticism of those cultures that don't possess the kind of social discipline that is needed for modernity. I think the modern world stinks, and I would prefer to see the Islamic World (and everyone else) reject the social discipline, the technology, and all the rest of modernity.

In your seventh paragraph you write: "I don't agree with your remark about violence in the Middle East — and find it a bit odd coming from a citizen of the US where recourse to guns seems to be a national affliction." This is a good point, and I would like to give you my thoughts about guns and violence in the U.S., but this letter is getting inconveniently long, so for the time being I will refrain.

Your eighth paragraph: If you cared to give it to me, I would be interested in your explanation as to why the attack on the World Trade Center made you so much more angry than the atrocities that go on continually in other parts of the world.

I'd like to mention that if Al Qaeda's goal is what Al Qaeda pretends it is, namely, the collapse of the U.S., or maybe of the West as a whole, then their strategy seems inexplicably obtuse. They ought to have realized that by proclaiming themselves enemies of America as such, and engaging in indiscriminate mass slaughter

of Americans, they could only earn the hatred of all Americans and unite Americans behind their own leaders. Of course, that's just how it has turned out. The U.S. has been strengthened by the September 11 attacks. It would have been far more effective for Al Qaeda to declare its friendship for the American people, make itself the enemy only of the existing system in America, and direct its terrorist actions exclusively against members of the American elite. That way Al Qaeda might have won the sympathy of some Americans (especially those who are themselves alienated from the existing system here) and would not have hardened so much the attitude of other Americans. This is the old strategy of "divide and conquer." The North Vietnamese used it successfully against the U.S., and the U.S. itself uses it all the time. It's using it right now with respect to the Islamic World.

I can explain Al Qaeda's use of an apparently stupid strategy only on the hypothesis that its leaders' real goal is not to defeat or weaken the U.S., but something else. For example, they may be looking for some political or psychological effect within the Middle East itself. This seems consistent with

your letter of December 4. Would you care to comment?

In your postscript you asked whether I should be addressed as "Dr." Technically I'm entitled to be so addressed, since I have a PhD in mathematics. But I haven't been a practicing mathematician for thirty-odd years, and I've forgotten most of the mathematics that I once knew, so the PhD now is largely empty of meaning. Hence I prefer to be addressed as plain "Mr."

Sincerely yours,

Ted Kaczynski

12 March 2002

Dear Mr Kaczynski,

Now I have to apologize as I realize it is two months since I got your last letter. The reason for my delay in replying is simply to do with pressure of work at this point in the academic year. I hope that by now you have received the book I sent you by John Esposito, which is generally regarded as a good introduction to the some of the main concepts of Islam.

First of all, you criticize Lewis for naivety, which I agree with, but for Muslims there is another problem with his analysis, which is always seen as being pro-Israel. He regards Israel as a modern democracy. I write this the day after 17 Palestinians were killed in Gaza and after the deaths of hundreds of others by modern weaponry supplied by the USA. One Muslim leader interviewed about suicide bombers argued that they would not be necessary if they had the arms available to the Israelis.

In the countries of the Middle East there is a huge gap, cultural and social, between the elites and the majority of the people. The westernization of the elites does not impact on the people at all.

For example, in Saudi Arabia, the royal family live lives which are in defiance of the "wahabism" which it theoretically espouses and which is imposed on the rest of the population. In such countries there can never be representative government. I am not even going to use the word "democracy" but prefer some concept of a government responsive to the wishes of the people which could actually be populist and even centralised control like Cuba, because there is no shared language of identity. Some of my research has been in this area. In some countries the rulers do not even speak the same language e.g. North Africa, Pakistan. In some cases, the ruling elite are different by religion e.g. Iraq, Syria, or by tribe or clan affiliations, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Iraq again, Algeria, India.

It is difficult to know what would make people give up these long tried methods of promoting special interests in favor of a common national identity. I think Iran has gone a long way down this path since 1979 and that is why I am most unhappy about the threats being made against Iran by Bush. It seems to me that the last lot of Iranian elections was fairer and more "democratic" than those, which gave you your latest President. At least Iran does not seem to be ruled by big business.

I agree that it is impossible to see any rationale strategy behind the Al Qaeda attacks on 9/11. At the time I was affected for two reasons: I was in Chicago when they happened and I was researching Islamic ideas of jihad and martyrdom that day in the library. I suppose I had a solipsistic moment when I felt I had caused the attacks! For that matter, I had also just read The Turner Diaries so when I heard of the attack on the Pentagon I assumed it was a militia attack. I was affected also because I saw it on TV. Although I have been involved with the aftermath of "terrorist" attacks in the past

From

3/12/02

it has always been after the event. To see such a thing as if you were seeing it actually happening was a strange and disturbing experience. My feeling now, is that there was no long term thinking behind the attacks: they were done simply to show that they could do it. After all, no demands were made. My fear is that the US has no long term strategy either and does not at all appreciate that others' responses will mirror theirs i.e. just as the people in the US appear to have united behind Bush, so Muslims have swung behind Bin Laden, the Palestinians and now Saddam Hussein as they come under attack. I think Bush and Bin Laden would have a lot in common - apart from the fact that their fathers are friends. Both are bigoted fundamentalists who know very little about the world outside a tight knit circle of people who reinforce their egos. If I see anything behind Al Qaeda, it would have to be what it appeared to be, i.e. the Saudis who think that their riches and religious righteousness make them players on the world stage. After all, most of the suicide attackers were Saudi, Bin Laden is Saudi, the money was Saudi... and as they say, "If it looks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it is a duck". The Saudis are heavily involved in Central Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. For them Islam is just a weapon in a bid for influence and control. Just as the West uses the empty ideas of "freedom" and "democracy". All of these are cloaks for power, which is always what it at issue. The trouble is that most social ideologies involve the individual abandoning autonomy and ceding authority to others. This is the main obstacle in the way of human progress --- she said sweepingly! I'll have to stop there, as my working day is about to recommence. I hope to hear from you soon and let me know if you would like me to send you any more books. Maybe you have thought of writing one yourself.

With Best Wishes,

For the effect of the Industrial Revolution on personal freedom in the U.S., see Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (editors), Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, Chapter 12 by Roger Lane. On the basis of some conclusions of Robert W. Thurston (Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1934-1941, Yale University Press, 1996), derived from documents that have become available since the fall of communism in the U.S.S.R., one could plausibly argue that average working people under Stalin had greater personal freedom than American working people have today — simply because economic conditions coupled with technical inadequacies of the Stalin regime made it impossible for the state to exercise effective control over ordinary people.

I'm acquainted with a Palestinian who has lived both in the U.S. and in Saudi Arabia; he complains of the lack of freedom in the U.S. and extols the freedom of Saudi Arabia. He claims, for example, that in Saudi Arabia if you want to open a shop you just go ahead and do it — you don't need to worry about licenses, permits, regulations, taxes, forms to fill out, or any of the other red tape that hampers the small businessperson in the West. Obviously, whether there is more freedom in Saudi Arabia or in the U.S. will depend on what kind of freedom you are interested in; for instance, if you're more concerned about restrictions on women than about those on

shop-owners, then you won't look to Saudi Arabia for Freedom. In any case, it seems very probable that if and when Saudi Arabia becomes economically and technologically modernized the freedom of shop-owners there will be reduced approximately to the level of the freedom of shop-owners in the West, and that this will happen independently of whether Saudi Arabia acquires a "democratic" government.

As you might guess from the foregoing, I take issue with your statement that "The trouble is that most social ideologies involve the individual abandoning autonomy and ceding authority to others. This is the main obstacle in the way of human progress"

I would argue that the individual's loss of autonomy has been brought about primarily by technological and economic circumstances, not by social ideologies. Modern social ideologies tend to "involve the individual abandoning autonomy" because the abandonment of autonomy is necessary for the functioning of modern industrial society. In other words, modern social ideologies tend to be conditioned by the needs of the technoindustrial system, rather than the system being based on a social ideology.

As for "necessity" it is that

TED KACZYNSKI

to

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August 6, 2002

Dear

Thanks for the birthday card you sent me. I must admit I've been very slow to acknowledge it. I'm happy to report that I'm doing fine.

Your remarks about technology are exactly right. I agree with you completely, and I'll add that the September 11 event could not have happened without advanced technology, namely, the technology that makes jet airliners possible. Prior to the technological age, there was no way that 19 people could have killed 3,000. And it will get worse, what with the increasingly destructive potential of biological weapons and the like.

But I'm actually a lot less worried about intentionally destructive uses of technology than I am about the unpredictable side-effects of seemingly beneficial applications of technology. When you introduce important changes into any highly complex system, the long-term consequences can never be foreseen, and those consequences are apt to be disruptive and destructive. It follows that the present headlong rush into unlimited technological development is madly reckless, it is utter folly. And the only way to stop it is by overturning the entire existing system.

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

by the intrusion of modern civilization.

By the way, to answer a question that you asked in a recent letter (6/17/02), prisoners here are not allowed to send or receive faxes.

In another recent letter (6/23/02) you invited me to comment on the Green Party. I think you're right in not being "100% inspired" by it. The Green Party is reformist: It aspires only to fix what is wrong with the existing system rather than to get rid of the system altogether. Also, I think that Ralph Nader and many of the other people in the Green Party have an essentially leftist mentality as described in the manifesto.

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

August 27, 2002

I apologize for taking so long to answer your letter of June 26. I've had so many problems and pressing matters to deal with that the part of my correspondence that is not time-sensitive has tended to get put on the back burner.

You indicate (# 5 of your 26.6.02 letter) that my quotations from the Quran (my letter of 26.4.02, p. 5) are misleading because out of context. But your explanation by no means convinces me that the Quran grants women equal, or even nearly equal status with men. It clearly does not do so. For example, you mention women's right to inherit under Islam; but: "A male shall inherit twice as much as a female." Quran, approx. 4:10-11.¹ Also, "Good women are obedient," and disobedient women should be beaten. Quran, approx. 4:34-35.² As women's compensation, you mention that the Muslim male is supposed to "listen[] to and take[] advice from his wives." But probably in most cultures the majority of men have paid attention to their wives' advice anyway. That's just human nature.

Suppose that in the U.K. or the U.S. legislation were seriously proposed that would make the husband the legal head of the household and give ~~give~~ him the right to beat his wife if she were disobedient, while urging men to listen to and take their wives' advice. It is certain that not only feminists but the vast majority of women would raise a howl of protest. And for good reason.

I make an issue of this because it is a pet

1. The Koran, trans. by N.J. Dawood, Penguin Books, 1997, p. 61.

2. Ibid., p. 64.

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peevish of mine that people on the left are generally very anxious to excoriate the West for its failings (e.g., the remaining inequalities between men and women), but when it is pointed out that certain non-Western cultures have the same failings in more acute form, the leftists immediately try to find excuses for the non-Western cultures. But the excuses they come up with would by no means be regarded as acceptable if applied to the West.

In ¶ 2 of your 26.6.02 letter you write: "You seem to adhere to a fundamentally Marxist view in the sense that you see the economics of technological change as the powerhouse of history although you are not Marxist in that you do not approve of this but seem to believe that it is possible to return to some earlier form of social organization which would involve 'forgetting' about the scientific or technologic discoveries upon which the current concept of 'progress' is based. Would you agree that this is fair summary of your position?"

As a summary of my position it might be misleading. My position could be better summarized as follows: I do feel that in modern times technology (not only the economics of technological change ^{but technology in general}) is the powerhouse of history. Because (among other reasons) all past civilizations have broken down eventually, it seems reasonably safe to assume that technological civilization too will break down eventually. The sooner it breaks down, the less disastrous the consequences of the collapse will be. For that reason among others, it is desirable that the technological system should break down as soon as possible. It may be feasible to hasten the breakdown through revolutionary action, and I advocate such action. If and when the technological system breaks down

TED KACZYNSKI

to
PROF.

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in Florence Gulch.

(2)

December 4, 2002

Dear

I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. This card was made for me by an artist friend of mine named

I have photocopies of the original made and I use them as general-purpose greeting cards. The pun involved (Florence, Italy versus Florence, Colorado) becomes more interesting when one knows that during the 25 years I spent in Montana I lived

when I need it again. (3

Regarding the subject of Zakaria's book, I'll only say that it seems to me that the struggle between fundamentalism and secularism is in effect a struggle over whether religion is to be taken seriously or reduced to a merely decorative role. Not that I hold any brief for religion — I'm an unbeliever myself. But I think it should be acknowledged that secularism (whether in the West or in the Islamic world) does

My has received Two Middle-Aged Ladies in Andalusia in an envelope that she has promised not to open until Christmas. I'd like to thank you again for your kindness in sending me the book.

I've finished reading the other book that you sent me The Struggle Within Islam, by Rafiq Zakaria, and I've certainly learned a good deal from it.

Since inmates here are allowed to keep only a limited number of books in their cells, I've sent this book too to my wife, but she will return it to me if and involve emptying religion of all practical content.

I'm enclosing a cartoon that possibly may amuse you

Best regards, and, again

Merry Christmas,

Ted Kaczynski

Postmark 12/12/02

Dear Ted:

First I would like to wish you a merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. How are things going it sure was good to get your letter I have already sent for the book that you wanted ordered I had to send them a money order since I don't have a credit card. but you should be getting the book shortly.

I used to live in Colorado when I was small ~~so~~ all I remember of it as being very cold.

You and I have something in common that we both dislike the way the news media slant on their reporting.

Ted what do you think that the U.S. should do about Osama Bin Laden? do you believe that President Bush is too war minded as to Saddam Hussein or is it warranted? Ted I work here in San Antonio as a auto mechanic I have for 28 years I think I will make a career change soon I don't like it anymore! I have to close for now but I hope to hear from you soon and I hope that you enjoy the book.

TED KACZYNSKI
to

December 18, 2002

Dear

Thanks for your letter and Christmas card. Thank you very much also for ordering the book for me. I appreciate it.

Yes, Colorado can get cold. But compared to Montana, where I used to live, it seems fairly mild.

To answer your questions, I don't know what the U.S. should do about Osama Bin Laden. To tell the truth, I don't read too much in the newspapers and news magazines, so I don't know very much about that situation. But as far as I can make out, nobody knows what to do about Bin Laden.

As for Saddam Hussein, yes, I would guess that President Bush is serious about making war on him. I would guess that it probably is warranted. I don't think all these petty little dictators around the world should be allowed to develop nuclear weapons.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year,

Ted Kaczynski

basis. I won't waste my time with that. Much more interesting would be a discussion of the psychology of morality, i.e., of why people make the moral decisions that they do. But this is a subject that is rarely discussed in depth, because such discussion would lead to conclusions that most well-socialized people would find unacceptable.

I do have what you would call moral feelings (though I would prefer to avoid the word "moral" and speak instead of a sense of fairness), but I don't claim that these feelings have a rational basis. To give you an idea of my general view of morality, I'm enclosing an article of mine titled "Morality and Revolution."

Question 5. Muslim fundamentalism is nothing new. It's been around for many centuries. See Rafiq Zakaria, The Struggle Within Islam, Penguin Books, 1989. The current form of Muslim fundamentalism does seem to have a marked antimodernist streak, and I think disgust with modernity is one important force that contributes to the strength of Islamic fundamentalism. But it seems clear that antimodernism is a decidedly subordinate aspect of Islamic ideology. The dominant aspect is something like nationalism, except that the "nationalistic"

feelings are attached not to a nation but to a religion. See the article "What Motivated the Attacks of September 11, 2001?" that I sent you with my letter of 8/8/02.

I know very little about the ideology of the militia movement. From the little that I have read about it, it seems to me to be naive, to say the least. I imagine that the militia movement may be largely a response to the erosion of personal and local autonomy that is a consequence of modernization, but I doubt that most militia people grasp the connection between technological progress and the problems that bother them.

There is the anarchoprimitivist movement, which is explicitly anti-technological, but unfortunately I fear that anarchoprimitivism has fallen under the domination of leftism, which is likely to neutralize it, in part by diverting its energy in the direction of non-issues like sexism and homophobia. In fact, I consider leftism to be the system's most effective device for smothering any nascent revolutionary movement. See the enclosed article titled "The System's Neatest Trick." Also see Manifesto, paragraph 113, and Martha F. Lee, Earth First! : Environmental Apocalypse, which shows how a massive influx of leftists emasculated what might have

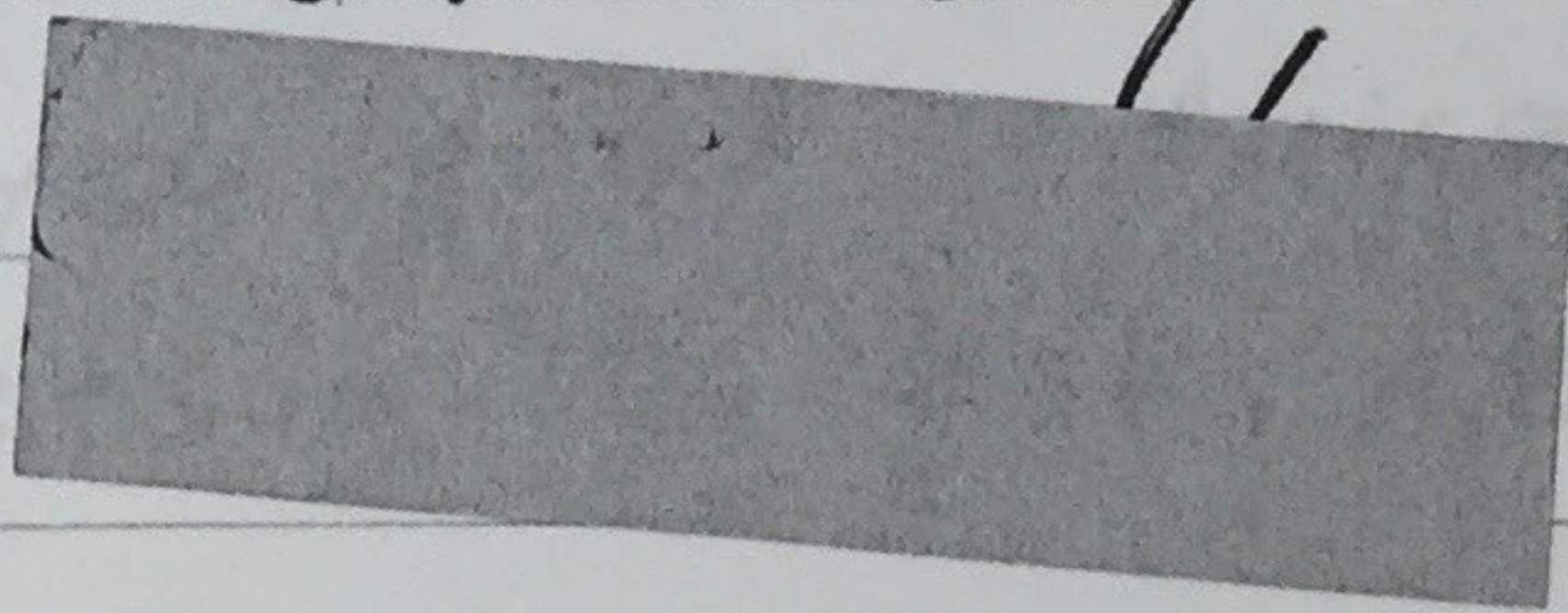
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Postmark 4/8/03

Dear Ted:

How are you doing good I hope. I want to thank you for writing to me before and I really value your opinion. Ted do you think they will ever catch Osama Bin Laden? and are Saddam Hussein doing numbered or will he escape? how do you think George W is doing? Ted I'm enclosing \$10.00 money order for your commissary for you to buy a little something. hope to hear from you and may God Bless you.

Sincerely,



to

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May 1, 2003

Dear

Thanks for your letters of March 3 and April 8. Thanks also for the ten dollars that you enclosed with your letter of April 8.

I've been excessively busy lately because I'm involved in a legal effort to get back the documents that were seized by the government at the time of my arrest. I thought it was going to be simple, but it's turning into a real mess. The more I study the law books the messier it gets. The different court decisions contradict one another and it's impossible to make sense of them.

In your letter of March 3, you asked about a good college for . . . I'm afraid I can't advise you on that subject. I've been out of the education field for more than thirty years! But Alex Jr.'s high school probably has a guidance counselor who could give you good advice on that subject. That's the person to ask about a college for . . .

In your letter of April 8 you ask whether I think the U.S. will catch Saddam Hussein or Osama Bin Laden. Your guess is as good as mine! I will only say that they are both very wily men, and they probably had escape

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routes and hiding places planned and prepared long in advance.

In your letter of March 3 you offered to order another book for me. I'll gladly accept that offer. I need a copy of The Status of Women in Preindustrial Societies, by Martin King Whyte, Princeton University Press, 1978. If you buy a copy of this book yourself and send it to me, they won't let me have it, because the Bureau of Prisons has a stupid new rule that inmates are only allowed to receive books if they are sent directly from the publisher, a book club, or a bookstore. Also, the copy sent to me should be paperback.

If the book is available only in hardcover, then there is some red tape I have to go through in order to get approval to receive the book, so you should send me the name, address, and phone number of the publisher, book club, or bookstore from which you plan to order the book, and wait until I get approval before you order it. All this is a mess, but what else can you expect from the B.O.P.?

Anyway, thanks and best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

In answer to your question, I have no respect for George W. Bush or Bill Clinton as leaders. I'm not so sure about Colin Powell. I have a feeling that he might just possibly be a cut above the rest of our politicians, who are a pretty miserable lot. But it's hard to say, because Colin Powell in public office has always been under the authority of some other leader, so we don't know what he would do if he could act independently.

Thanks again for your effort to get that book.

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

Let me go back to your letter of 3/25/03 and mention something there that I disagree with. On page 3 you wrote, "I usually hang my head in shame when saying I'm a citizen of this country." You wrote this in connection with your comments about the war in Iraq. I'll say first that if it's true that Saddam Hussein was developing nuclear or biological weapons, then one could make a good argument for invading Iraq to disarm him. Of course, the U.S. still hasn't been able (as far as I know) to turn up any solid evidence that Saddam actually was making nuclear or biological weapons, and I feel reasonably sure that (whatever they may tell themselves or the public) the politicians' motives for invading Iraq had more to do with their own egos and their own drive for power than with any unselfish desire to prevent the harm that Saddam might do with his weapons programs.

But how many countries are better than the U.S.? The U.S., as it happens, is top dog in the

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world today. If Russia, or China, or some other country were top dog, would they behave any better than the U.S.? Not likely! Given the present technological and economic situation of the world, a ruthless struggle for power among nations is probably inevitable. If you single out the U.S. for blame simply because it is, for the time being, the most successful contestant in the international power struggle, you only distract attention from the real root of the problem, which is the set of technological and economic conditions that make the power-struggle inevitable. I've argued this point with you, too, by the way.

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May 11, 2003

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Dear

On the back of these sheets you'll find an article by Mary McNamara, Los Angeles Times, August 27, 1998, pages E1, E4. I thought it might interest you in view of your remarks about the decline of personal honor in your letter of 3/25/03.

On the subject of attitudes toward the U.S., which I discussed on pages 3-4 of my letter of 5/10/03, I'd like to add the following: There is a widespread tendency to demonize the U.S. For example, some years ago, probably in the early 1990's, I read an anthology of Chicano literature that included a story about some Mexicans who were trying to get into the U.S. illegally across the Rio Grande. The story represented American border guards as playing searchlights on the river and shooting at the Mexicans with rifles as they tried to swim across. This was billed as a realistic portrayal of the conditions under which illegal immigrants entered the U.S. Of course, I didn't believe it, but just to make sure I wrote to my brother's Mexican friend . . . was in his sixties at

the time, and he had been crossing the border illegally to work in the U.S. ever since the 1940's. Every few months he would go back to Mexico to visit his family, so he had crossed the border illegally many times. In answer to my question he said that the border guards never did the Mexicans any physical harm, though of course they would round them up and send them back to Mexico if they caught them.

Now, I don't doubt for a moment that there have been isolated incidents in which border guards have gotten out of hand and killed illegal immigrants—and undoubtedly they would go to prison if they were convicted of it. But the story I mentioned gave the reader the impression that the border guards made a regular practice of shooting illegal immigrants. I was reminded of this just a few days ago as I was reading a Latin-American novel that also gave the

TJK To

5/17/03

0841.0

2

impression that shooting at illegal immigrants was a regular practice of American border guards.

I'm not what you would call a patriot, and I'm well aware that the U.S. is no nation of angels - nor is any other country that I know of. But I do not like the ~~distortion~~ distortion of truth.

I'm not suggesting that you distorted the truth. You didn't. You just expressed your distaste for this country. I'm just trying to explain why I get irritated at the demonization of the U.S.

Of course, there are real grounds for criticizing American culture... but that's another story.

Warm regards,

Ted

P.S. To the list of leftist catch-words that I listed on page 6 of my 5/10/03 letter I would add "patriarchy."

— Ted

TED KACZYNSKI
to

658

July 24, 2003

Dear ... ,

I trust you received my letter of June 10. Unfortunately, I'm still not done with the legal work

This case is turning into an incredible mess, and I don't know how long it will be until it is finally resolved.

In your letter postmarked June 3, you asked me to discuss the items the government took from me when I was arrested. Well, they took so much stuff from my cabin when I was arrested that their own list of items is 70 pages long! This stuff was supposedly taken for use as evidence in my trial. Actually, a lot of it was just junk. One item of some value that they took, though, was my .30-06 hunting rifle. But what I'm most anxious to get back is the papers they took — letters, diaries, notebooks, etc. I have photocopies of most of the papers, provided by the govt. prior to my trial, but I don't have copies of all of them, and some of the copies I do have are incomplete, or partly illegible, or have been doctored by the FBI. So I am anxious to get the original papers back, if possible, and, if I can't get those, then at least I want to get good photocopies of them.

In your letter postmarked June 3 you also asked whether I had any ideas about the

apparent escape of Saddam Hussein and his sons. Well, according to the Denver Post, Saddam's sons were killed just within the last couple of days. The U.S. will probably get Saddam himself eventually, but it might still take quite a while. Osama Bin Laden may have a good chance of avoiding capture indefinitely, since he has wide popular support. But Saddam is generally hated, so he will probably be caught by and by.

There is a book you can get me, if you like and this one should be easy to get, since it is a fairly recent one and is probably still available from the publisher: The Saga of the Volsungs, translated by Jesse L. Byock, Penguin Books, 1999. ISBN: 0-14-044738-5. The publisher's address is

Penguin Putnam, Inc.
375 Hudson Street
New York NY 10014

This is a paperback, so there won't be any problem about having the publisher send it to me here. I would like to give this book to my favorite lady for Christmas.

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

TED KACZYNSKI
to

0658

August 30, 2003

Dear

Yesterday I received your letters postmarked August 21 and August 22. I'm really sorry about the mix-up over the book that you ordered. I hope that by this time you have received my letters dated August 13 and August 16 in which everything is explained.

Sometimes my letters get lost in the mail, so just in case you didn't get my letters of August 13 and August 16, I will explain again.

When I received Mutiny on the Globe from Penguin Putnam, I couldn't imagine why the book had been sent to me. The only explanation I could think of was that you had ordered The Saga of the Volsungs, and Penguin Putnam had sent me the wrong book by mistake. That was cleared up by a letter that I received on August 13 from the author of Mutiny on the Globe. For some reason he had a copy sent to me from Penguin Putnam. Too bad he didn't tell me about it in advance. It would have saved you and me a lot of confusion.

Also, on August 15, I did receive The Saga of the Volsungs, which you ordered for me from Barnes & Noble. Thank you! I do appreciate it. I am going to send this book to my favorite lady as a Christmas present.

To answer your comments on international

affairs in your letter postmarked August 11, if President Bush is a good man, then he must also be a dumb one, since he let his advisors snooker him (and the general public, too) into believing that Saddam Hussein was making nuclear weapons. Even if the U.S. eventually finds proof of some efforts at making chemical or biological weapons in Iraq, there couldn't have been much of that kind of thing going on there, otherwise plenty of evidence of it would already have been found.

Also, the idea of setting up a democracy in Iraq is stupid. History shows that you can't just go into a country and set up a democracy and expect it to work. It rarely does work—until, after many decades of social changes that make democracy possible. Look at all the countries in which there have been attempts to establish democracy during the last 50 years. Most of those attempts have been complete failures. Democracy did work in Japan, for example, but the Japanese are an unusually docile and orderly people. The Arab peoples, in contrast, are traditionally turbulent and unruly. In that kind of culture democracy ~~has~~ has very little chance of success.

You ask whether the people making trouble in Iraq are "just terrorists," or what. I don't know. I'll only point out that someone has said, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom-fighter." So it depends on your point of view.

Should the U.S. intervene in Liberia? Well, I don't know. Again, it's a problem of a country with a turbulent and unruly culture. Any good that the U.S. could do there now most likely would be temporary.

Again, thank you very much for the book. I hope that everything is going well for you & your family.

Best regards,

Ted Kravitz

TED KACZYNSKI
to

0658

September 21, 2003

Dear

Thank you for the ten dollars that you sent with your letter of September 11. I do appreciate it. I hope you received my letter of August 30.

As for that ABC news story you mentioned, I simply sent the court a photocopy of the FBI's own list of items seized from my cabin, and I requested to have all of the property returned, except such items as the government may prove it has a right to retain. Of course, the government ~~that~~ would not be legally required to return any items that are "per se contraband" — that is, items that cannot be legally possessed by a private individual.

You ~~ask~~ ask how we can get out of the mess in Iraq. Beats me! All those government officials have a lot more information about the situation in Iraq than I do, and if they can't solve the problem then I certainly can't solve it either.

Thanks again for the ten dollars.

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

TED KACZYNSKI
to

October 23, 2003

0658

Dear

Thanks for your letter postmarked October 15, which I received today. Actually, I found out some time ago that I can receive hardback books, without special permission. The way it works is this: When a hardback book for an inmate is received at the prison mailroom, they send the inmate a form to sign that gives the mailroom permission to cut the covers off the book. The inmate signs the form, they cut off the covers, and they send the book to the inmate.

So, if you like, you can just order the hardback copy of Nancy Bonvillain's Women and Men: Cultural Constructs of Gender. But a paperback copy would probably be cheaper, so if you prefer you can order a paperback copy. The choice is yours. In either case, I really appreciate your kindness in getting the book for me.

You're right — President Bush certainly did screw up in Iraq. They went in there without properly planning what to do with the country after they occupied it. Their assumption that they could just set up a democracy in a country like that and expect it to work, was silly.

Thanks again for your efforts to get the book for me.

Best regards,

Ted

district court.

What ~~is~~ can be done to stop the killing of our soldiers in Iraq? I don't know!

Why do the Iraqis hate us? Probably one of the main reasons is that it hurts their national pride to have their country occupied by a foreign army. ~~Probably not~~ I would guess that most Iraqis do not have a clear idea of what they want for the future of their country, and would be dissatisfied with anything that foreigners could do for them or impose on them. And they probably perceive, correctly, that whatever the U.S. does in Iraq it does for its own national interest and not for the sake of Iraqis.

I hope that you and your family will enjoy yourselves over the holidays.

Best regards,
Ted Kaczmarek

You ask who I would vote for, for president. I actually wouldn't want to vote for anyone for president, because I don't respect any of the politicians. If I had to choose, I suppose I would pick one of the democrats, simply as a lesser evil in comparison to Bush. I'm not sure which democrat.

As for what you say about dirty politics and the president lying to us — yes, politics is a dirty business regardless of which party is in power. But this gang that has the White House now is cruder, bolder, and more unrestrained than most past administrations. A lot of people recognize this, and Bush ought to lose the next election because of it; but he may win all the same since he's backed by big money. More money buys a bigger propaganda campaign, and elections nowadays are to a large extent decided by which candidate puts on a better propaganda campaign.

able to get along without the pain pills.

As for Ronald Reagan, I thought he was pretty much of a jerk. But then, I have an equally low opinion of the rest of our presidents over the last forty years. It seems as if the quality of our politicians just keeps going downhill.

As for the budget deficit, I think it is foolish for our government to spend more than it can afford. You're right about Ray Charles. He was a great musical genius.

to

September 13, 2004

0805.0

Dear Mr. _____ :

Thanks for your letter of last April 22, which I'm sorry I haven't been able to answer sooner. To reply to your questions:

I did not study Montana history systematically, but I did do some reading on that subject. Among other things, I read the journals of Lewis and Clark as edited and abridged by Bernard de Voto; Forty Years on the Frontier, by Granville Stewart; Life in the Rocky Mountains, by Warren Angus Ferris and The Vigilantes of Montana, by Thomas Dimsdale.

If I could change one thing about the justice system, what would it be? Well, I would pass a law requiring that every person, upon being arrested for a criminal offense, should be given a brochure explaining in detail his constitutional and statutory rights, how and when to exercise those rights, and, for violations of those rights, the available remedies, including malpractice suits against attorneys. In the absence of proof that the defendant had received the brochure, he would be entitled to a new trial.

But you can be sure that no such law will be passed in the foreseeable future, because if criminal defendants were fully aware of their rights and knew how to exercise them, it would be far more difficult for defense attorneys to manipulate and deceive their clients, with the result that there would be fewer guilty pleas and

more trials in which the defendant represented himself — all very inconvenient for the legal system.

My thoughts on the presidential race? In my opinion, Bush is incompetent. The one good thing that I can say about him is that he is opposed to stem-cell research; and the worst thing I can say about Kerry is that he is not opposed to it. Bush's advisors and appointees — Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, etc. — are not far from out-and-out criminality.

Nevertheless, if I could vote and thought it was worthwhile to do so, I would seriously consider voting for Bush and his quasi-criminal group. Why? Well, apart from the stem-cell issue, I figure that the re-election of an incompetent president and his irresponsible gang will help to weaken the system.

Best regards,

Ted Kaczynski

TJK to C.J. McNULTY 4/11/05

5.

0938.0

I receive Time and Newsweek, and the prison provides a daily copy of the Denver Post for inmates to read. You say that the current U.S. Government is "comical". I agree that President Bush and some of his advisers and appointees are incompetent, but I wouldn't call them "comical", because I really don't think their bungling is funny. You say that you deal with many people overseas who "often have access to news we do not". I would be interested to hear some of that news. You speak of "the U.S. Government controlling/censoring what we read and hear". Of course, it is axiomatic that governments will try to control the flow of information to the extent that they can get away with doing so, and the same is generally true of other large organizations. I think the government's power over the flow of information is actually less important than that of other large organizations, the news media in particular. The problem is not principally the government, but large organizations generally, including but by no means limited to governments. And it is technology that has made possible the dominance of large organizations in the world today. I am very definitely not a Marxist, but Marx was right about one thing, namely, the importance of technology in

TJK to C.J. McNULTY 4/11/05

6.

0938.0

determining the character of society.

You also offer me your legal opinions. I much appreciate that offer, and it is likely that I will want to consult you about legal matters at some time during the coming months, because some issues have come up here at the prison that may oblige me to take legal action. Actually, that was what reminded me of your letter and led to this reply.

Sincerely yours,

Ted Kaczynski

As of 9/11/05
I have received
no answer to
this letter
-TJK

these problems. Why can't they correlate modern living conditions with their psychological problems? Actually I would guess that some of them do correlate their problems with modern living conditions, but that doesn't do them much good, because they can't escape from modern living conditions.

3. You ask me whether I think nuclear weapons are the most dangerous aspect of modern technology. It isn't easy to say what the most dangerous aspect of modern technology is! I might give different answers to that question at different times, depending on how the situation looked, and my answer would in any case be only an educated guess at best. But one could reasonably argue that the most dangerous aspect of modern technology is global warming and the remedies for it that are likely to be adopted.

Nations have a strong incentive to avoid using nuclear weapons, at least on any large scale, because such use would probably be suicidal. This doesn't mean that nuclear war can never happen -- on the contrary, the risk of it is very real. But a major nuclear war at least is not a strong

June 30, 2001

Dear Dr. Barriot,

Thank you for your beautiful owl card dated May 31 and for the one that you enclosed with your letter of June 11.

To answer that letter: Yes, I have serious doubts about whether the lawyers Porter, Bostwick, and Jassy will do a good job of representing me. As for Alberto Gonzales, yes, you are right. But I am surprised that French people are so well informed about him. The American media have been somewhat timid in their criticism of Gonzales; perhaps the European media have been less so.

You speak of "democratic totalitarianism" in the United States, and that concept could be defended. Nevertheless, I do not feel comfortable with the use of the word "totalitarian" to describe the system existing in the U.S. or other "democratic" countries today. The existing system may well be more dangerous in the long run than the systems that traditionally have been called "totalitarian" such as those of Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia, or Mao's China, but the existing system is so different from the latter systems that I think it is inappropriate to call it "totalitarian". Moreover, if one refers to the existing system in the U.S. as "totalitarianism", or even as "democratic totalitarianism", one makes oneself an easy target for one's opponents, who can point out very great differences between the existing system and those traditionally called "totalitarian". I have no doubt that George W. Bush and his clique -- Alberto Gonzales, Dick Cheney, Carl Rove, et al. -- are doing their best to move this country in the direction of what has traditionally been called "totalitarianism". They would set up a fascist government (though they wouldn't call it that) if they could. But at present they can't get away with doing so. Twenty or thirty years from now it may be a different matter.

You say that you see no difference between Democrats and Republicans, and you are right to the extent that the policies of Democrats and Republicans will lead in the long run to the same result, if technology continues its development. But for the present there are important practical differences between Democrats and Republicans. To mention only one, the Republicans are making a systematic effort to replace federal judges -- especially Supreme Court justices -- with judges of an authoritarian cast of mind who have little respect for the constitutional rights of indi-

2.
viduals (except individuals who are rich and powerful). A Democratic president would be likely to appoint judges who still have a good deal of respect for constitutional rights. Of course, these judges too would be faithful servants of the techno-industrial system, but, because they would make decisions more favorable to freedom of expression than Republican-appointed judges would, they would make it easier for us to attack the system by spreading ideas. To take a concrete example, if one of the older "liberal" Supreme Court justices dies under a Republican administration, the President will replace him or her with a more authoritarian justice; and in that event, if my litigation subsequently reaches the Supreme Court, the Court may well reach a decision that will allow the government in effect to suppress my writings.

Of course, it could be argued that an authoritarian or even a fascistic government would be to our advantage because crude government brutality would arouse resistance, hence might lead to the development of an effective revolutionary movement. On the other hand, such a movement likely would consider its enemy to be merely the particular form of government, rather than the technoindustrial system itself.

to put up with it.

As for your "morally conservative" classmates who are opposed to stem-cell research — I'm not sure what stem-cell research is. It has something to do with embryos, doesn't it? In any case, I'm opposed to it too, though not necessarily for the same reasons as your classmates. I'm opposed to nearly all scientific research, especially biotechnological stuff.

About Obama... it's interesting that you worked on his campaign. I at first favored Hillary Clinton for president, but after she was out of the picture I favored Obama. I mean, I don't think any of our politicians are worth a damn, so when I say I "favor" a politician for an office, I just mean that I think he or she is the least of the available evils. I favored Clinton and later Obama mainly because I figured a Democratic president would be much more likely than a Republican to appoint judges and Supreme Court Justices who have some respect for constitutional rights. (From my own experiences with the judicial system I know how important that is!) But now I'm afraid Obama is going to be a big disappointment in that respect. The people he has appointed as Attorney

TJK to LYDIA ECCLES 4/16/09

2

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General and Solicitor General both say they think the government should be able to hold alleged terrorists indefinitely without trial. Of course, the government can claim that anyone is a terrorist, and if there is no trial that claim is never tested. So in effect the government would be able to lock up anyone indefinitely.

Thus, on the basis of Obama's choices for Attorney General and Solicitor General, I don't think there is any reason to hope that he will appoint good judges.

About my composition -- yes you're right,

Thanks for the articles on the oil spill. The prison does subscribe to USA today, and copies of it circulate among the prisoners. Also, there's a slightly daffy person in California who buys me subscription to Time and The Week. So I'm adequately informed about the oil spill. But I haven't seen anything on the oil spill that is as hard-hitting as the column by Bob Herbert that you sent me.

However, Bob Herbert (like everybody else in the media) misses the real point. Herbert blames everything on the big corporations, and of course it's true that the corporations are greedy, ruthless, and dishonest. But it doesn't really matter much whether the development and application of new technology is administered by the corporations, by the government, by the corporations under close government supervision, or even by some conservation organization. As long as modern technology continues to progress there will be disasters of one kind or another, because the introduction of new technology inevitably has consequences that no one (no matter how responsible) can predict in advance. That's why the disasters usually come from some unexpected direction. And, the greater the powers unleashed by technology, the bigger the disasters get. It may take a couple of hundred years, but eventually the disasters will

get big enough so that it will be the end of the line for all of us.

So the proximate cause of the disaster in the Gulf of Mexico is insufficient care on the part of British Petroleum, but the underlying cause is modern technology itself.

First let me comment on the NY Times clippings that you sent me with your note of 7/19/11. The article titled "Grasping risk...": Yes, I fully agree that children today are overprotected--so overprotected that they are prevented from learning to be independent. I would argue, however, that letting children take risks is less important than letting them overcome challenges--overcome challenges on their own, not in a framework set up for them by adults. Of course, doing something that is potentially risky, and doing it without getting hurt, is one way of overcoming a challenge, but it's not the only way. I figure that any sort of unsupervised play, devised by the kids themselves and not devised for them by adults, serves the purpose--which is to let the kids experience the "power process" autonomously. See Technological Slavery, pp. 273-76, where I refer to Martin E. P. Seligman's book Helplessness. Helplessness is well worth reading, though I don't respect Seligman's later books (he became a kind of happiness guru).

You probably recall the fairly recent news stories

about the self-styled "tiger mom" -- the Chinese-American woman who treated her two daughters brutally -- subjecting them to severe and rigid discipline practically every moment of their lives in order to make them into skilled classical musicians. It would be interesting to know how that kind of treatment works out in terms of the power process. The daughters certainly had to go through the power process, minus autonomy -- they had to exert themselves mightily in order to escape psychological punishment from their mother. But they must be aware of their mother's selfishness -- they must realize that their mother treated them that way not for their sake, but in order to feed her own ego by providing herself with two brilliant daughters to boast about. And they've been totally deprived of any opportunity to exercise any independent initiative. So what will be the result? I can only speculate, but my guess is that the result will be two women who have hardly any capacity for independent thought or action... unless they successfully rebel against their mother's tyranny. Now this gets interesting, because...

You'll recall the birthday card I sent you, which was a reproduction of a work of an artist, an old friend of our family, the late Stella Meister. Stella's son, Gregory, has a daughter named Alfie, and Alfie has a daughter (now about 5 years old) named Stella after her great-grandmother. Alfie seems to be somewhat of a "tiger mom", though I don't think she's anywhere

near as brutal as the Chinese mother I mentioned. I think ever since Stella Jr. was maybe 2 or 3 years old, Alfie has been subjecting her to a constant round of dancing lessons, swimming lessons, tennis lessons, skiing lessons, and I don't know what-all other kinds of lessons. As far as I can make out from Gregory's letters, the child has hardly any time that isn't structured for her by adults, and her mother moreover imposes a strict discipline on her. Alfie no doubt tells herself that she's doing all this for her daughter's benefit, but, obviously, she's really doing it to feed her own ego. Gregory is a very nice, generous, unselfish fellow, but he's not particularly bright, and I doubt that he properly appreciates the situation with his granddaughter.

What is interesting, though, is that (to judge from Gregory's letters) Stella Jr. is showing clear signs of rebelling (already at the age of five!) against her mother's authority. I conjecture that if Stella loses the psychological battle with her mother, she will either turn into a broken-spirited person who seeks solace in drugs and unbridled hedonism, or else she will turn out to be a very accomplished person, but a thorough conformist, incapable of independent thought or action. On the other hand, if Stella wins the psychological battle against her mother, then I conjecture that she will be a much stronger person because of the fact that she had to fight that battle, and maybe she then will indeed be capable of independent

thought and action.

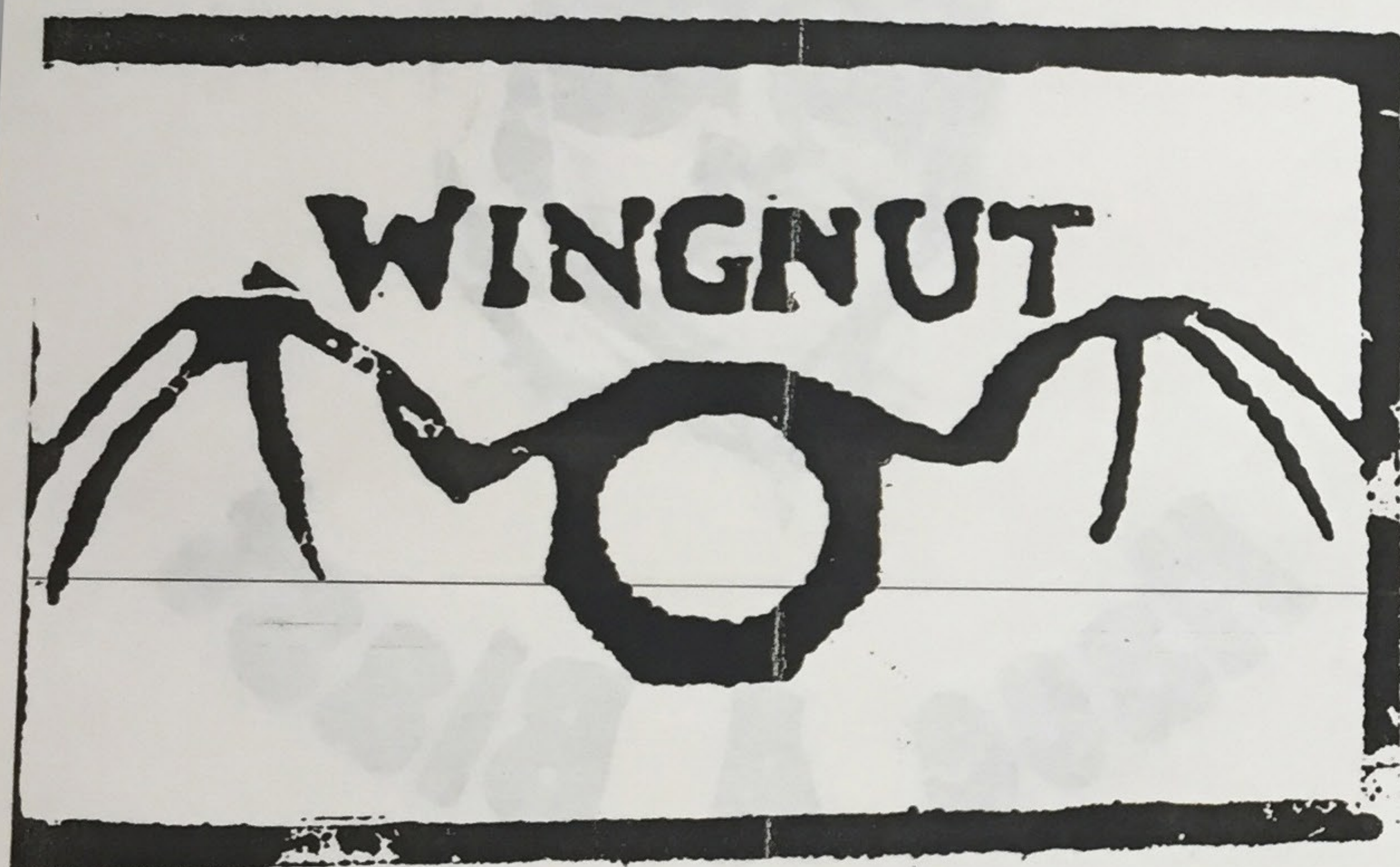
Of course, all that is just guesswork. It will be interesting to see how the situation develops. I'm sending you herewith three photos of Stella Jr.: two at her (ugh!) dancing lesson, and one with her grandfather, Gregory.

The NY Times article about weather forecasting: They try to tell us how wonderful technology is because it helps to predict extreme weather that was probably caused by technology in the first place. It's the typical pattern: Technology causes a big problem, then new technology comes along that doesn't actually solve the problem, but mitigates it, and then the technophiles point to the new technology to show us how beneficial technology is.

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www.wingnutrva.org



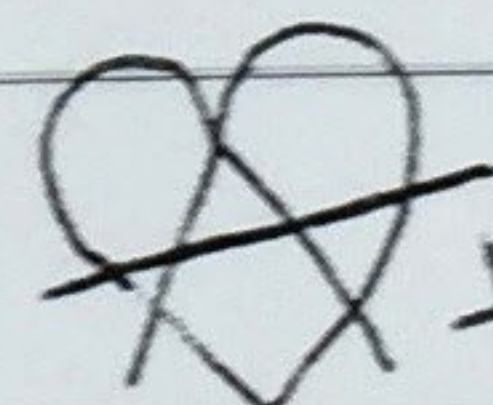
From J.
with a letter dated
11/2/11

Grossly unfair to Obama!
- TJK

Hope You



Have A Blast

 the
Wingnuts

TED KACZYNSKI
+

July 18, 2012

c/o INTERBOOKS
405 W. FRANKLIN STREET
CHAPEL HILL NC 27516

[Corrected First draft
SAVE. There is no carbon
copy.]

Dear

Thanks for your postcards, which I received on May 22 and July 17, 2012, and for your letter of June 26, 2012, which I received on July 9.

① In your letter you sent me some fragments of information about terroristic actions. After this, please do not send me any information about illegal actions of any kind. If there is any type of politically motivated illegal activity going on out there, I don't even want to know about it. I'm surprised your letter was even allowed to reach me. Recently someone else tried to send me information about such activities, and it was rejected by the prison authorities.

I have to be concerned about the risk that my communications with the outside world might be cut off. See Technological Slavery, page 12. For some time I've been seriously worried that my communications may be cut off if Obama loses the next election. Not that the Obama administration is good on civil liberties -- it certainly is not -- but the Republicans are a lot worse in that respect. ¶ I wasn't overly concerned about the information that you sent me in a letter a year or more ago, because the attempts at terrorism that you mentioned seemed amateurish and not very successful, so I saw no

immediate reason to fear that they would receive any more than minimal attention in the U.S. media. But if anti-tech terrorist activities ever become serious enough so that they get a lot of attention in the U.S. media, then the fact that I'm allowed to communicate will have obvious political implications. The prison authorities here know that I've been extremely careful to avoid anything that could conceivably be interpreted as an attempt to incite illegal action of any kind. But the higher-ups in the Department of Justice won't be concerned primarily about whether I'm actually doing anything that encourages illegal activity; their main concern will be the possible political consequences of allowing me to communicate. So now I have to worry about the danger that even the Obama administration may cut off my communications at any time if there's more anti-tech terrorism.

The only thing I can do to reduce the risk to myself is to keep generally a low profile and, especially, avoid even the faintest whiff of any connection with or interest in terrorism. This means that if you ever send me any further information about terrorism, or about any other politically motivated illegal actions, I'll have to break off my correspondence with you completely and permanently--for my own protection. The same applies to everyone else I correspond with. As I've said, I don't even want to know anything about any illegal anti-tech activities.

Also, for their own protection, I advise everyone ~~people~~ involved in legal advocacy of anti-tech ideas to avoid all discussion--even the most innocent discussion--of terrorism or sabotage. At least in the U.S., conspiracy laws make it a crime to "conspire" to do an illegal act,

even if the illegal act is never carried out. For example, suppose you say in jest to John Doe: "Wouldn't it be fun to... [do such-and-such a destructive act]?" John answers, "Yeah, it would be a real gas." Subsequently, for completely innocent reasons, John Doe buys a tool that could have been used to carry out the destructive act. Hostile prosecutors might spin your words to make it appear that you both had "conspired" to destroy something and that the purchase of the tool was an "overt action" in furtherance of the "conspiracy". Of course, it would be ridiculous to prosecute someone on such a basis, but if you think the government's lawyers wouldn't play a trick like that in a politically loaded case, then you'd better think again. As I can attest from personal experience, the government plays dirty.

I'm assuming, by the way, that you are not involved and not planning to become involved in any type of illegal activity. (Bear in mind that inciting anyone to do anything illegal can itself be illegal, and having any type of connection with an illegal organization can lead you into illegality in ways you might not be aware of until it's too late.) If I'm wrong--if you are actually or potentially involved in anything illegal, then please don't ever write to me again.

In line with this, no, I have not been receiving the Earth First! Journal (page 4 of your letter), and I consider it safest not to receive it. So please cancel the subscription you got for me.

② I'm desperately short of time. Because

of my concern that my communications might be cut off at any time after Jan. 2013 if Obama loses, or even a lot sooner if there's more terrorist activity, I'm struggling to get all my main ideas written down, and ^{to} arrange for their publication, at the earliest possible moment. So I'm not going to be able to answer everything in your letter. For the present I can only say what follows.

③ Propaganda against "green" technology is good so far as it goes. A point to remember: Energy conservation is useless, because no matter how much energy is provided the system will always expand rapidly until it is using all available energy, and then it will demand more. Same for "green" technology generally. The nature of the system is such that it will always expand rapidly until it comes up against some obstacle to its expansion (shortage of energy, water, food, or something else; environmental pollution, problems of waste disposal; etc., etc.). Then it will push hard and recklessly against the obstacle, with destructive consequences. The only thing green tech accomplishes is to delay, slightly, the destructive collision of system against obstacle. There is no solution except to dump the whole system.

④ The answers to much of what you say can be found in Tech Slavery if you study it closely enough. The propaganda work you are doing, by itself, will never bring victory. As noted in Tech Slavery, p. 269, you can't defeat the system in a head-on propaganda contest. What is needed is to build a (legal) revolutionary organization that will be disciplined, deeply committed, and prepared for decisive action so that when the system gets itself into sufficiently serious trouble (as it will probably do) the revolutionaries will

be well prepared to use that opportunity to eliminate the system altogether. Such an organization need not be numerically large. The quality of its personnel will be far more important than their numbers. See Tech Slavery, pp. 265-68, 321-24. That being understood, the mail I get leads me to believe that there are sufficiently many people out there to provide the personnel for such an organization. Most of these people do not fit into any of the three categories that you describe in your letter, pp. 5-6. (Even if the three categories include, say, 95% of the population, they don't include everyone.) Also, there are many people (possibly including yourself who are not of the leftist psychological type described in ISAIF but are more or less connected with the left simply because only the left currently offers any sort of organized resistance to the system. Such people could make suitable recruits to the kind of organization I've described, provided that they can be completely detached from their association with the left. So I think the right people are out there. The problem is to organize them.

(5) Even though the kind of organizing and propaganda work that you are now doing can never by themselves defeat the system, ~~but~~ they can nevertheless be highly important in preparing the ground for the real revolutionary organization that I've been referring to. In the Russian Revolution the Bolsheviks were by far the most effective group, and it was they who took control of the revolution. But they couldn't have

accomplished much if numerically ~~much~~ larger groups, such as the Social Revolutionaries, hadn't created the general revolutionary atmosphere that was a precondition for the Bolsheviks' victory.

⑥ You say that I have no practical experience in organizing, and you're quite right. Nor am I in contact with anyone but you who is an experienced organizer. So we would love to have your input on the problems of organizing. I've written a critique of Saul Alinsky's book on organizing, Rules for Radicals, and I would be extremely pleased if you could find time to write a critique both of Alinsky's methods and of my critique of them.

I know a young man in Spain named Gonzalo who, as far as I can judge from a brief correspondence, is very promising. He is trying to get some people together for serious discussions, and I think that exchanges between you and Gonzalo would be profitable to both of you. I also know some other people with whom you could probably have productive discussions. If you will send me an email address at which you can be reached, I will pass it on to Gonzalo and others. In addition, an email address will enable me to send you my critique of Alinsky, and other materials. Photocopying and ordinary mail are too expensive.

Of course, if you want to have useful discussions with us, you'll have to make time for them. If you take months to answer a communication from us, we'll be forced to move ahead as best we can without the benefit of your potentially valuable input on organizing.

⑦ You ask (page 4 of your letter of 6/26/12): "Why

not let people have their utopian visions...?" People whose vision of utopia is focused on issues like gender equality, racism, homophobia, etc., have strong leftist affinities; if their vision of utopia also focuses on not having to work, then they are lazy to boot. These are the kind of people who will ruin an anti-tech movement. You'll see why I wrote "The Truth About Primitive Life" if you will reread "How to Transform a Society", part IV, fourth paragraph from the end, and the corresponding endnotes. I also suggest you reread everything in Tech Slavery that talks about leftism -- and reread it carefully enough so that you will actually understand my arguments on that subject. You might end up disagreeing with my arguments anyway, but you can't disagree intelligently unless you read carefully enough to understand what my arguments are (which most people don't do).

Yours,
Ted Kaczynski

TED KACZYNSKI

to

November 9, 2012

[Corrected first draft. SAVE.

There is no carbon copy.]

Dear

Thank you for the beautiful card you sent. It's good to hear from you again. I hope your sister's children are doing OK, and needless to say I hope you're doing OK too.

Any delay in the research that your loss may have caused is of no consequence. Of course, we can make up for lost time; but what is more important is the fact that Obama won the election. The main reason why I was in such a hurry to finish the book was my fear that if the Republicans had won, my communications might be cut off at any time after they took office next January. I don't want to give the impression that the Obama administration is good on basic civil liberties such as the prisoner's right to communicate. It isn't. But in that respect the Republicans are a lot worse.

Of course, it's still possible that my communications could be cut off -- I always have that hanging over my head -- but since the Obama administration hasn't restricted my communications during the last four years, the chances are that it won't do so during the next four years either. So now I don't need to be in such a rush to finish the book.

If you ever feel able and willing to rejoin the research project, you will be most welcome. If not, I will still remain

Always your friend,

Ted

wonder whether he's been commuting in a rowboat.

Obama's victory relieves me of the most intense time-pressure, because now at least I don't have to worry that my communications will be restricted as a result of a new administration taking over in January. But that doesn't mean I can afford to relax, because if I don't somehow squeeze in time to work on the writing the work will never get done. And of course my communications are never really

safe -- They could be cut off no matter who is in office
in Washington.

TED KACZYNSKI

To
LYDIA ECCLES

April 18, 2013

[Corrected first draft. SAVE. There is
no carbon copy.]

Dear Lydia,

Did you ever receive the \$35.99 I sent
you for the book on Chinese history? The money
was withdrawn from my account on 3/20/13, so
you should have received the check long since,
but I've received no acknowledgment from you.

Please let me know whether you received the
\$35.99! Thanks.

I hope you were not a spectator at the
Boston Marathon.

Love,

Ted

I invite you to read the clipping.
Thanks for the clipping you sent me, without a letter, in an envelope postmarked 6/11/13, about drones programmed to kill people on their own initiative. I knew they were using drones to kill people, but this is the first I've heard of drones programmed to kill automatically, without any human decision. The people who are responsible for this sort of thing--right up to Pres. Obama--should be prosecuted for murder, but of course that's not going to happen. But protests like those of Cukier and Mayer-Schönberger are a waste of time. Where the technology is available, such uses of it are inevitable sooner or later.

How's Alina doing?

Love, Ted

Just yesterday, 7/9/13, I received a letter dated 7/6/13 from Valerie in which she very briefly explained her immigration problems: "I have come into some trouble with the law. Although the crime was non-violent, it is an offence that could jeopardize my status as a Permanent Resident of the United States of America. I'm sure the prosecutors are just trying to scare me, but if I were punished to the full extent of the law, I could be deported to Germany." That's all she says on the subject. I wish I knew what the offense was, because I'd like to know what inference might be drawn about Valerie's general character. If it were something like, say, possession or sale of a small amount of marijuana, it might not mean much. I suspect that quite a few of our younger people, including well-

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educated ones like Valerie, play around with marijuana. They don't think there's anything wrong with that, because they consider the laws against marijuana ^{to be} unreasonable in view of the fact that tobacco and alcohol are legal. On the other hand, Valerie's offense might mean that she shouldn't be trusted. The prisoners in a place like the ADX here are of widely varied types, and one can't put them all in the same category, but many of them have personalities of a typically sociopathic type -- they are habitual liars, and they wouldn't hesitate to play a dirty trick on a friend (like, for instance, selling his letters on ebay). So Valerie's unspecified offense doesn't necessarily mean she is untrustworthy, but I think it should be regarded as a signal for caution -- she might be untrustworthy.